Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 192509
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY:S/S:PTARNOFF
APPROVED BY:S/S - MR. TARNOFF
----------027339 131758Z /53
P 131659Z AUG 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 192509

NODIS
CHEROKEE: FOR AMBASSADOR - PLS HOLD FOR AMB YOUNG ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT SECTO 8159 TOWHITE HOUSE, SECSTATE AUG 13

QUOTE S E C R E T SECTO 8159

NODIS/CHEROKEE

WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BREZEZINSKI ONLY
FROM THE SECRETARY.
DEPARTMENT FOR ACTING SECRETARY AND PETER TARNOFF ONLY
FROM THE SECRETARY.

E.O. 11652:XGDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)
SUBJ: OWEN-VANCE TALKS WITH BOTHA

1. AFTER OWEN AND I CONFERRED FOR TWO HOURS THIS MORN-
ING TO REVIEW KEY SUBSTANTIVE POINTS AND TACTICS, WE MET
WITH PIK BOTHA FOR FIVE AND ONE-HALF HOURS.

2. BOTHA CAME NOT AS A STRONG ADVOCATE FOR A PARTICU-
LAR LINE ON THE RHODESIAN ISSUE, BUT MORE TO LISTEN AND
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 192509

PROBE REGARDING THE SCOPE OF THE U.K.-U.S. PROPOSALS
AND WHAT WE EXPECT OF SOUTH AFRICA. HE WAS UNCHARACT-
ERISTICALLY RESTRAINED AND, AT TIMES, ALMOST RESIGNED
IN HIS ATTITUDE. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS GOOD AND THE DIS-
CUSSION WAS STRAIGHTFORWARD AND OPEN THROUOHOUT THE
SESSION.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

3. BOTHA DID, HOWEVER, EXPRESS HIS GOVERNMENT'S APPREHENSION ABOUT WHAT THEY BELIEVE TO BE THE U.S. AND U.K. INTENTION TO APPLY INCREASING PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA REGARDLESS OF PROGRESSIVE MOVES IT MAY TAKE IN ITS DOMESTIC SITUATION. IN THIS HE FOLLOWED CLOSELY THE LINE PM VORSTER HAD TAKEN IN A SPEECH LAST FRIDAY WHEN VORSTER ACCUSED THE U.S. OF FOLLOWING A STRATEGY OF "STRANGULATION WITH FINESSE."

4. OWEN CAREFULLY DESCRIBED THE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK, THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND (ZDF), AND TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS. HE TOOK PAINS TO EXPLAIN HOW THE FUND WOULD OPERATE TO REINFORCE THE CONFIDENCE OF WHITES AND MAINTAIN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.

5. DURING THE ENSUING DISCUSSION, BOTHA SOUGHT CLARIFICATION OF A NUMBER OF KEY ISSUES INCLUDINN:
-- CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS FOR WHITES;
-- TIMING OF THE PUBLIC RELEASE OF THE PROPOSALS;
-- OUR PLANS FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH SMITH;
-- A SCENARIO FOR IMPLEMENTATION;
-- CONSEQUENCES, IF ANY, OF THE PARTIES REJECTING THE PROPOSALS; AND
-- WHETHER THE U.K. AND THE U.S. ARE DETERMINED TO STAND BY THE RESULTS OF THE PROCESS.

SECRET

SECRET

6. FOLLOWING IS THE ESSENCE OF THE DISCUSSION OF EACH OF THOSE FIVE POINTS:

A) BOTHA WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT BLOCKING MECHANISMS WHICH MIGHT BE BUILT INTO THE CONSTITUTION TO ORO-TECT WHITE INTERESTS. WE EXPLAINED THESE WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE CONCEPT OF ONE PERSON, ONE VOTE AND WOULD BE REJECTED BY THE AFRICANS. WE WENT ON TO EXPLAIN THAT CERTAIN FEATURES ARE DESIQNED TO BUILD A CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE, E.G., RESTRAINTS ON THE AMENDMENT OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE ON ITS OBLIOATIONS AND THE CONTINUED AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS FROM THE ZDF, AND THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS. BOTHA NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO MAKE THE BILL OF RIOHTS NON-AMENDABLE FOR AN INITIAL PERIOD OF YEARS. WE AQREED TO CONSIDER THIS.

B) BOTHA REPEATEDLY URGED THAT WE NOT MAKE OUR PROPOSALS PUBLIC UNTIL AFTER THE RHODESIAN ELECTIONS. HE ARGUED THAT THEIR PUBLICATION COULD UNDERMINE SMITH'S EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE ELECTORAL MANDATE HE IS SEEKING, OR FORCE HIM INTO A PREMATURE PUBLIC

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

REJECTION OF THE PROPOSALS. RESPONDING, WE EMPHASI-
ZED THE IMOORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THE PRESENT MOMEN-
TUM GIVEN THE DISTINCT POSSIBILITY THAT FIGHTINOG
COULD ACCELERATE SHARPLY IN COMING WEEKS, THUS
POSING EVEN MORE SERIOUS PROBLEMS. WE ALSO POINTED
OUT THAT THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WOULD BE SUSPIC-
IOUS OF A DELAY AND, BESIDES, THERE IS NO GUARANTEE
THAT SMITH WOULD BE MORE AMENABLE AFTER THE ELECTION.
C) BOTHA ASKED IF WE EXPECTED SOUTH AFRICA TO SELL
OUR PROPOSALS TO SMITH. WE REPLIED THAT TO DO SO
WOULD SERVE SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERESTS AS WELL AS
OURS. WITHOUT COMMITTING HIMSELF IN ANY WAY ON THE
SUBSTANCE OF OUR PROPOSALS, BOTHA UNDERTOOK TO TAKE
SOUNDINGS IN PRETORIA AND SALISBURY EARLY NEXT WEEK.
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 192509

WE NOTED THAT OWEN AND ANDY YOUNG WOULD THEN BE
TRAVELLING TO AFRICA TO CONSULT WITH THE FRONT LINE
PRESIDENTS AND RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS. IN THIS
CONNECTION, DAVID OWEN AND I NOW AQREE THAT HE AND
ANDY SHOULD TRY TO SEE THE FRONT LINE BEFORE TALKINO
AGAIN WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS.
D) AT BOTHA'S REQUEST, OWEN DESCRIBED IN CONSIDERA-
BLE DETAIL THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION
WHICH WE ENVISAQE BEGINNING WITH NEXT WEEK'S CONSUL-
TATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA EXTENDING THROUGH OUR
PRESENTATION TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, AND
CULMINATINO IN ACTION BY THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT TO
ENACT A NEW CONSTITUTION. WE STRESSED OUR DETERMINA-
TION TO GO FORWARD WITH THIS PROCESS WITHOUT ALLOW-
ING ANY OF THE PARTIES TO EXERCISE A VETO.
E) BOTHA ASKED WHAT THE CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE
SHOULD SMITH REJECT THE PROPOSALS. THIS GAVE US AN
OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE POINT THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S
SUPPORT OF RHODESIA WOULD LEAD TO A STRONG REACTION
IN THE UN, INCLUDING SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.
BOTHA REACTED STRONGLY AND HINTED THAT ACTION AGAINST
SOUTH AFRICA WOULD FORCE THEM TO CLOSE THEIR BORDERS
WITH BOTSWANA, LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND, THUS IMPOSING
SEVERE HARDSHIPS. WE TOLD BOTHA WE HOPED THAT THE
SANCTIONS THRESHOLD WOULD NOT HAVE TO BE CROSSED AND
EMPHASIZED WE WERE NOT LOOKING FOR A FIGHT.
F) NEAR THE END OF THE DISCUSSION, BOTHA ASKED (1)
WHETHER WE WOULD STAND BY WHATEVER GOVERNMENT THAT

EMERGED FROM THE PROCESS; (2) WHETHER WE ACCEPTED THE
FACT THAT FIGHTING MIGHT CONTINUE AFTER ELECTIONS,
SECRET

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AND (3) WHETHER WE WOULD GO AHEAD EVEN IF MUQABE WOULD NOT ACCEPT OUR PLAN. WE EMPHATICALLY ASSURED HIM WE WOULD ACCEPT THE RESULTS OF FAIR ELECTIONS REGARDLESS OF THE OUTCOME; THAT WE RECOQNIZED THAT THERE COULD BE FIGHTINO NOT ONLY AFTER THE ELECTIONS BUT ALSO AT ANY TIME DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD; AND THAT MUGABE'S REFUSAL TO PLAY BALL WOULD NOT DETER US.

G) BOTHA MADE CLEAR THAT HE WAS NOT AUTHORIZED TO EXPRESS ANY DEFINITE VIEWS ON WHAT WE HAD TOLD HIM, BUT WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT WITH VORSTER. HE SEEMED IMPRESSED BY OUR RESOLVE TO MOVE AHEAD (INCLUDINQ UN ACTION), BY THE DETAILED NATURE OF OUR PLANNINO AND BY THE FACT THAT WE WERE PUTTING THE PROPOSAL TO THEM WITHOUT FIRST CLEARING IT WITH THE FRONT LINE AND THE NATIONALISTS. I ALSO THINK THAT, EXPECTINQ THE WORST FROM US, BOTHA WAS FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY THE NON-CONFRONTATIONAL PRESENTATION OF THE PACKAQE.

I BELIEVE, MOREOVER, THAT THE SHAH'S RECENT WARNING TO SOUTH AFRICA REGARDINQ OIL SHIPMENTS TO RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA'S WORSENINQ FINANCIAL SITUATION HAVE HAD A SOBERING EFFECT ON SOUTH AFRICANS.

7. BOTHA TOLD US THAT THEIR CABINET MEETS NEXT TUESDAY AND THAT WE WOULD BE INFORMED OF THEIR REACTION SHORTLY THEREAFTER. VANCE. UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, SECTO, CAT-A, CHEROKEE 08/13/77, MEETING REPORTS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 13-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE192509
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/S:PTARNOFF
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: N770004-0787
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770863/aaaacblt.tel
Line Count: 202
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 0c29f25a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1607586
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: OWEN-VANCE TALKS WITH BOTHA
TAGS: OVIP, PDEV, SF, RH, UK, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (VANCE, CYRUS), (BOTHA, S P)
To: PORT AU PRINCE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0c29f25a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009